THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA

these narrow planks placed side by side and pierced by horizontal holes through which two parallel rods are threaded ; the hinge is a longer piece of wood pointed at both ends and rotating into holes in threshold and lintel ; while the whole is secured by an ingenious wooden lock. Most villages, however, now possess a carpenter or two, trained in the P.W.D. workshop at Gilgit and armed with plane and saw, who can produce more Europeanized doors and cupboards, to the greater comfort of their owners and the selfish regret of the anthropologist. The old, home-made door is still in use for barn and byre.

Every peasant family is almost entirely self-supporting and independent, eating the produce of its own laboriously and beautifully terraced fields (PLATE I), wearing the woollen cloaks and caps spun and woven from the wool of its own sheep, and booted from the skin of its own beasts. The only foreign garments worn are the cotton shirts and trousers of comparatively recent introduction, now considered indispensable by both sexes, and the merry little cotton caps, plain or silk-embroidered, which have replaced the heavy woollen salvation-army bonnet of the women. Butter is made and water carried in skins ; grain and flour are carried in skin-bags or sacks and stored in skin-sacks or wooden bins. Rugs, saddlebags and ropes are woven of goat's hair.

In a country where no unirrigated tree can grow, timber is very scarce. An old apricot or appletree is sometimes available, or the root of an old vine, otherwise the only general timber is the poplar, grown primarily for poles and rafters, and the willow, absolutely essential for baskets (PLATE II), a dozen varieties of which are needed for carrying apricots, manure, dry leaves, straw etc., and for storing potatoes and dried fruit.

The soil of Hunza is unimaginably poor, consisting in fact of little but powdered-up mountain side. The scarcity of water means also the non-existence of pasture, and the few animals that can be fed eke out a spartan existence on the scraps of grass growing on the rare semi-irrigated strips of hillside or beside the water-channels, and on such weeds amongst the growing crops as are not earmarked for human consumption or remain after the crops have been reaped. This scanty provision is supplemented by the autumn harvest of dry leaves (not one of which lies on the ground ungarnered), the straw and stubble, and occasionally a small quantity of dried grass. Only a few families command enough land and water to grow a little lucerne for fodder. The most livestock that the average household of 10 to 20 persons

2:Lorimer:T=3 (1920-4; 1934-8) 1938 AVT Baroche AVT

342
142 VIII VII
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Group on roof of No. 1 watching passers-by in street below. Small boy is carrying baby on his back of whom nothing is visible but tiny feet on brother's shoulders.

(See Chap. 16)

[Facing P. 82]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1933-4, 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

342 after a day or two the stone-and-mud walls have dried to the same appearance of timeless indestructibility as those of fifty or one hundred years ago. We passed first, as always, through a small byre, not yet inhabited by its cow; then at right angles through a dark, narrow passage 5 or 6 feet long, and then through the low hall-door into the house itself. Your main object in building a house at all is to be as warm and free from draughts as possible during the "Great Cold," and no one in his senses would let his hall-door open straight on to the wind-swept mountain side. Hence the byre ante-room, which not only defeats the direct outside air, but contributes something of animal warmth to the human warmth within.

291 291 352 When we emerged into the living-room (the *atrium*, as it were), beautifully bright with light from the smoke-hole, we were standing in a shallow trough below the floor level where the newcomer kicks off his muddy boots in winter. Most people at all well-to-do wear soft home-made boots up to their knees in winter-time. But skins are precious and, however cold the weather, they take their boots *off* to save them when they come to an extra rough bit of ground. This entrance place has in it the "musicians' bench," under which are stored the family basin and similar utensils and on which is piled a store of firewood.

342 [352] The floor of the room is a small square of hard-beaten earth which in this gloriously dry climate remains admirably clean; and roughly in the centre of it is a shallow hole, edged with four stone kerbs, which is the hearth. Behind the hearth is a low bench sacred to the lady of the house, the presiding genius 343 of indoors. Beside it she sits to do or superintend the cooking 251 and behind her is a low wooden door opening into the store-[414] room; the home-made wooden key of which hangs always on her person. The store-room runs the whole width and height of the house. It has need to be a roomy place, for here stand the skin sacks of grain, the heaped baskets of potatoes, apples, dried mulberries and apricots, the kernels, the wool, the stone wine-jars, the jars of apricot oil, the basket of savoury herbs—all the family's supplies for a twelvemonth, which it is her duty to guard and to apportion.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1933-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

floor of No. 7 and found a large group of neighbours flailing buckwheat. They made me welcome, and I tried some photographs. "It was very kind of you to send Nimo for me," said I. "But we never sent for you." Then I repeated what the children had said, and we all laughed heartily—the young monkeys had fetched me out on their own account! A few moments later riders were seen approaching. I sped down to welcome them.

Nice folk they proved. The Swedes used to reach Kashgar through Russia in twenty-four days, but Russian travel being uncertain they had been forced to make the long detour via India and our Gilgit road—a matter of at least three months.

Some weeks after my last call on Bibi Gimo I was passing by her home again and was hailed by the children from the roof: "Do come in and see the baby!" I was always chary of too readily accepting such impulsive invitations. "Run down and ask mother if she would like to see me." In a moment Najat came out bearing an authorized welcome. It proved that I had come at a fortunate time, for Baby Faqér had just been lifted for a meal and was kicking and crowing in his mother's arms with wonderful vigour for so small an infant. She took off the kerchief that bound his head—it was a large linen handkerchief I had purloined from David's store for him, and I gathered that its size and quality were prized—and ran her hand lovingly through his fine crop of dark hair, keeping a watchful eye for possible inhabitants which she gladly failed to find. I was laughed at for admiring his head of hair so much. The kerchief had a funny little needlebook affair attached by bright-coloured threads which had a verse from the Qur'an stitched into it to serve as amulet. Most small children's caps are decorated with several of these gaily coloured, dangling charms, but I should guess that they are merely "the thing," and are not taken more seriously than a charm on a girl's bracelet at home or the mascot on her father's car. Grown-ups rarely display them, but Dádo used to sport a string of them underneath his waistcoat when we travelled.

I sat down for a chat while the ceremony proceeded, and I observed that baby-worship is as thorough in Hunza as amongst

baby

HUNZA BABIES

291 Afrets, joining devoutly in the admiration of her ^
858 brother, volunteered: "And now I put on my tunic right side out!" I looked up at Soni, mystified. She laughed and explained that the last-born of a family always wore its little shift inside out until the next baby came. She could not tell me *why*. It just was "done." If no further child is born, the youngest on reaching seven, is promoted to the right side of its clothes.

291 Up till six or seven the young children of both sexes wear no garment but the one cotton shift and cap (with a homespun cloak for the cold); after that they are outfitted with baggy trousers of but slightly different cut, the boys' held in at the ankle by a plain, straight band, the girls' by a more elaborate "cuff," something like our spats. There is no rigid rule about the kind of cotton cloth used—it depends, no doubt, primarily on what happens to be available when the family is able to buy—but the men and boys mainly affect plain striped shirtings and the women bright-patterned chintz. Since a whole "piece" will be bought at a time, if often happens that all the women and girls of one household will be dressed at the same time in the same stuff. You often see women in plain stripes, however, and more rarely some boy-Benjamin in an amazing chintz shirt.

find much more of it, and David had hoped to get some interesting notes on the bi-lingualism of children whose parents were of different stocks, but we came across no household among the Burusho we met where the wife was a foreigner.

Social intercourse with Nagir is virtually non-existent. The Hunza menfolk occasionally cross the river to barter Hunza wool for Nagir grain, for the former is much valued, though why, with far more extensive pasturage, the Nagir sheep should yield inferior wool was a mystery we never solved. But though a common language might appear to unite the two people, a difference of religion sunders them, and profoundly different social customs. Centuries of rivalry have left strong, latent feelings of hostility and distrust, probably reinforced—though this is a point on which possibly neither side has consciously reflected—by a difference of race. The Nagir women enjoy no such freedom and equality as the Hunza women do. They still wear unbecoming, dark homespun bonnets concealing all their hair while in Aliábád only one such bonnet had survived the comparatively recent coming of the merry cotton cap. Nagir sheep are predominantly dark brown, and in consequence Nagir caps and *chogas* are of a sombre hue that fittingly symbolizes the less genial temperament. Their Shi'ah mosques are called "Houses of Mourning" (*ma'tim sera*), and their interpretation of Islam seems to be as cheerless as would be a form of Christianity that concentrated all its devotion on the sorrows of Good Friday, and spared no thought for the rejoicings of Easter and Christmas. Now it happens that the Arabic word for mourning (*ma'tim*) sounds very similar to the Burushaski *matum* (black). As we rode through Nagir and noted the dour looks of the Nagirkuts, the crouching, face-averted women, the absence of spontaneous "good days" which brighten every Hunza chance encounter, the fact that when a Nagir prince was riding with us his passage was unmarked by any welcome or salute, our Hunza men would murmur with a grim satisfaction: "Their caps are black, and their cloaks are black, and their mosques are black, and by Allah their hearts are black!" All travellers who have passed through the two adjacent states have noted the relative gloom of Nagir, and some

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

142
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1. "The Merry Widow" just about to be remarried: "And I'm in great demand, I can tell you," she said.

2. Washing a homespun cloak.

(See p. 175)

3. Brother and sister.

4. The "Cheshire Cat" of No. 4 with small sister.

PLATE XVI

[Facing P. 184]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 24

BARLEY SOWING AND "STARVATION SPRINGTIME"

AFTER weeks and weeks of dismal weather, which except for absence of rain or damp was about as cheerful as Fleet Street in December, we woke on February 1st to a white world, a glorious clear sky and SUNSHINE, so we downed tools and went out with our cameras to enjoy life again. When it snows here —a very rare phenomenon at this level, 7,600 to 8,000 feet— it is a disappointing sight. There are no "flakes" at all. It is as if Someone were very half-heartedly shaking the finest castor sugar out of one of those inefficient sugar-casters that people exchange as wedding presents. Even when it had snowed all night there was only a tiny sprinkling on the ground, and long before it was light enough to take a photograph with a Christmas-card foreground the stuff had evaporated, leaving you with the dark, empty fields.

It was delightful to see the whole place full of people again as if by magic. The old folk out on their roofs "taking the sun," and the whole place a-twitter with kiddies of every size. The little ones had been invisible for three months, and even the bigger ones rarely seen and in small numbers: partly because they really haven't enough clothes. They wear no under-things at all, and in the bitterest weather, though they may be huddled in a tattered *choga* or two, you see their bare chests peeping through their cotton shirts. Oddly, though they cuddle their *chogas* over their heads, they never dream of crossing them in front. If Papa happens to possess a padded coat from Yarqand or a skin coat with its own wool inside, the family is well off, and anyone who has to go out will take the

291 loan of it. In Kanízah's house (No. 3), though they are very, very poor, they are lucky enough to possess a woman's cloak of feather-wool. It looks extremely cosy and furry—though very old and greasy—with feathers sticking out all over it. When you can get enough down you spin the feathers in with the wool [136] before you weave it. You can only use the breast feathers of the wild duck for the purpose, and it must take a lot of wild duck, which are seasonal and rare, to yield enough for seven yards of feather cloth. This cloak of No. 3 is the only one we have seen. So we watch "the cloak" go out for walks—now on Zenába, the cheery old mother, who is one of the few really ugly women here but who always wears a happy grin that would redeem any face, now on Apicho, the eldest unmarried daughter who seems to be always on the point of getting wed but always just failing for some reason to pull it off.

511 We eventually discovered the reason for No. 3's extreme and obvious poverty. Poor Zenába had produced five girls, including a pair of twins, and only one boy, the second youngest child. Yaman (in full Ali Aman Shah) was one of our best boy friends, a bright, intelligent boy full of life and fun and knowledge, and good at all boys' games, but he was only ten or thereabouts, and not yet able to help his father in the heavier work of irrigating, wall building, ploughing, etc., and poor Ali Akbar looked worn and frail with six to provide for single-handed—not to mention the rare extravagance of the cat. Yaman manfully did all he could, and in addition when he could be spared from home trudged four mountain miles to Báltít to attend the school there with the Mir's grandsons and a few other ambitious boys. A great little fellow, with (as far as we could see) a hard enough life before him.

Yet No. 3 was one of the most cheerful and most hospitable houses round.

511 We supposed that Apicho's prospective bridegroom was as
585 poor as she, and when the two families came to tot up the
302 necessary wedding feasts they just couldn't face it. Certainly it had missed fire twice after we had heard that the date was fixed (you can in certain circumstances get from the Mir a special

252 God, the Merciful, the Compassionate—then they let the blood drain out, washed the neck carefully, and got busy with the skinning. Kalbi is a clever, neat-fingered fellow, as indeed all Hunzukuts seem to be, and in ten minutes had coaxed the skin off whole (without slitting it down the tummy) as easily as you peel off a pair of silk stockings. There were only the 415 holes at the neck and at the four "elbows" and a little slit at the tail, so that with a stitch at the tail and four ties at the legs the skin would serve as a water bucket or a bag for flour.

252 He then hung up the carcase and cleaned it—a wonderfully unmessy business—while we noted down all the words for its various innards. It would have been much more instructive and enlightening if either of us had ever seen a sheep killed at home or had known the English words for all the curious things it has inside it. There was not, even round the kidneys, one ounce of fat.

465 As usual out here, you do not pay a person in cash for performing a service of this kind; there is some recognized perquisite. In this case Kalbi considered that he would be handsomely remunerated if he might have the guts. We did not covet them ourselves, and gladly acquiesced. They are much [534] valued. They will give you strings for your zither (many people, including Kalbi, make beautiful zithers for themselves), and for your bow; they serve as thread to sew your long boots and your skin sack, and you put them to a hundred other uses. Others of our retainers laid claim to the wool, the skin, and various other items. Later Kalbi gave us a demonstration of skin-curing and -kneading.

291 The long native boots are extremely comfortable-looking, [281] like long-legged moccasins, and their construction is an elaborate art. Ibex skins are preferred, but ibex have nearly been killed off and other leather has to be substituted. The soles may be made of cow-hide. Boots are precious things, so however cold it is you take them off when you come to a very rough piece of ground or want to walk through water. At best the unlined boot is not over-warm, and really luxurious people wear woollen socks or stockings inside if they have them. The women can knit excellently well, but it is very rare for anyone

291 to have enough wool to spare for superfluities. The preciousness of boots accounts, I think, for a fact which puzzled us at
291 first: you never see children, sporting as they are in every
526 possible respect, sliding on the ice for fun. Boots are too valuable, and barefoot sliding would be a bit severe. Also, as David remarked, sliding and snowballing are games for such as can go home and change their clothes and get warm beside a nice big fire. These poor mites have at most one warm *choga* (and possibly a share of Father's on occasion) and a tiny fire at mealtimes only. Anyhow, they don't slide.

132 The bright weather of February 1st did not last, and though the cold was broken we reverted to gloomy grey weather and
796 the ceiling of snow-cloud overhead. We knew that a week or two would bring the great festival of the Bopfau, or Barley Seed-Sowing, and we feared that it was going to take place in semi-darkness. But everyone assured us: "Oh no, it will be bright for the Bopfau." The great week drew near and we had heard no word from the Mir confirming his earlier invitation to come and stay at Kerimabad (his garden and rest-house in
000 the park below the Fort at Báltít) for the occasion. We were beginning to fear that he had forgotten us and were wondering whether we could without offence remind him. Just as we were nearly in desperation and terribly afraid that we should wake some morning to be told that everything was over, a kind message came from him to say that he hoped we would come over on Wednesday afternoon. He himself would be away at Áltít, engaged with the preliminary ceremonies, but everything would be ready for us and we need only bring our own bedding. Now we knew that the GREAT DANCE was bound to take place on the Wednesday afternoon, and we feared that this meant that he did not specially want us at it—in which case, of course, there was nothing to be done.

We had a glorious ride over to Báltít on the Wednesday afternoon (of February 6th) in perfect weather, exactly as predicted. Various grandees had been told off to welcome us, a nice fire blazed in "our" beautifully furnished sitting-room, and the Mir's pet cook-for-European-guests, Mirza Hasan, was waiting with his best bedside manner to offer us tea. It was

DEGRESSION TO YASIN

We gained one valu- 291
able piece of information: the Nagir women *do* wear trousers! 562
The trousers-for-women fashion in these parts is new: that is, [77]
it has been going only for the last four or five generations, introduced we were told from Chitral, and my Hunza women friends had assured me that the Nagir women were so backwoodsy that they had not yet adopted it—which I now know to be a libel. The little girls wear cotton caps and fringes like our Hunza ones, but the women cover all their hair in black woollen Salvation Army bonnet-like caps (a type of headgear of which I saw only one specimen surviving in Hunza). What the Nagir women and older girls look like I cannot say, for when they sight a man they crouch down with their backs turned and either pull a cloth over their faces or bury their heads in their arms. Give me the Maulai variety of Islam every time!

After I got back to Hunza and the women crowded round to ask "all about everything," I got a lot of fun by demonstrating—with only a mild amount of legitimate exaggeration—how the crouching and face-hiding ought to be done; but I cleared the Nagir women's character on the trouser question. Certainly half the charm of our delightful country is the freedom of the women and girls. They come up to the roadside or out on to the roof to greet DL just as naturally and frankly as to greet me. They are not brazen-faced or forward, just unafraid and perfectly unselfconscious.

They have one charming custom which I have not heard 576
of elsewhere, and which could only exist amongst free women. 562
When the Mir or any distinguished traveller (such as we!) is passing, the women and girls crowd on to their house tops and silently wave their hands. Not in a stiff Heil Hitler salute nor with our undisciplined exuberance, but with a quiet, graceful circular motion from the wrist, the two hands moving opposite ways outwards from the breast. It is the most gracious and dignified gesture of welcome and goodwill I have seen. We knew it from official days of old, when it might well have been merely a command performance; but it warmed our hearts when it greeted us as private individuals.

To revert to our homeward journey: After descending the 600

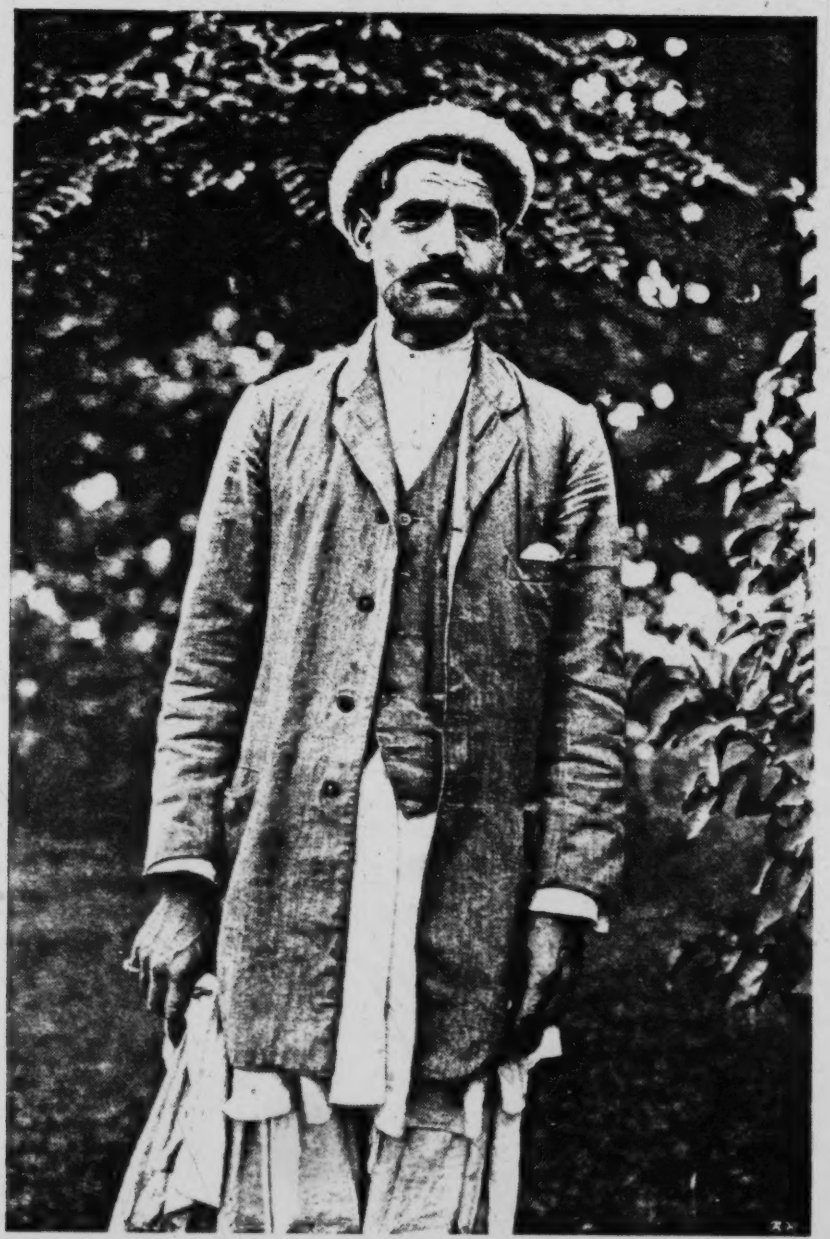
000 "grandson"), and were able to ask after the other members of their families and the sore leg or hurt finger, and congratulate Shamúli on having grown two new front teeth and been promoted to trousers in our absence. I noticed that small boys and
291 girls who in their baby days are clad merely in a shift, don their first trousers with their second teeth.

Our miniature escort swarmed into the verandahs and all round the house, and the difficulty was to coax them to run home after we had many times said a pointed "Good-bye for the present." It was the greatest fun, and we would not have missed it for anything. The luck of arriving prematurely had forestalled any formal grown-up reception, and this was a much more delightful and spontaneous welcome home. And these are the people of whom a recent traveller writes that they are "quarrelsome and grasping and out only for what they can get from the traveller." There are various types of traveller. The only comfort is that people who read a superficial travel book forget ten minutes after they have laid it down whether the author was writing of Hunza or Honolulu. The same writer says that no one in these regions cares about clean drinking water but all drink from ponds that have been fouled by the animals watering, whereas as I have already recorded the Hunzukuts most scrupulously roof in their drinking tanks and approach them down steep steps to prevent any animals possibly getting near them. It is grievously unfair to libel in print a people who have no opportunity to protest and correct mis-statements of fact.

We found the bungalow just as we had left it, but without the two months' dust we had fully expected. After tea and a rest we quickly shunted chairs back to their accustomed places, I got out tablecloths and rehung curtains, and we had our cosy camp-home looking like itself before dinner.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

291
142



Nazar of Aliabad.

End Plate I

2x Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

115
291

Ghulpur Shahzada Yûsuf of Yasin,
informant in regard to Werchikwar.

Jemadar Imâm Vîr Beg,
principal informant and communicator of the Texts.

End Plate 2

000 *muyɐnʊm* **-iŋ** y a present of cloth given to the bride's mother at a wedding (normally 6 yds. of cloth?) — *mumimo muyɐnʊm* her mother's wedding present.

Figuratively used in:
iʼkɛ ɜariŋ ja ai.imo mumimo muyʼɐniminŋulo muɣʊnʌs ba kɛ ja ai.i guʻčam if you will give those cities to my daughter's mother as her bridal-present, I will give you my daughter (as wife). 96.21.

(The word is a form of *-*yɐnʊm* q.v.).

● 291 *mʊzʼa*, N. *muʻza*, *-muʦ* x long boots (made in Kashgar of good leather).

(Cp. *dʌsmuʻza* gloves. The word *moʻza* is similarly used in Badakhshani Persian for "long leather boots". In Kho. it denotes knitted woollen stocking-legs used like gaiters). Prs.

N and ŋ.

000 Finally, more rarely medially, *n* sometimes interchanges with *ŋ* and *m*.

1. *naʻ* IUB channel conveying water to mill, H. *haʻn*(?) *aʻsiya*. (Prs. *naʻo*?).
2. *na* Exclamation of grief or sorrow. — *eʻrča ba, na!* I am going to die, alas! 358.5.
3. *naʻ* not?, or not? (after a final verb). — *je kɛ baʻ, nʼa?* I am also, am I not?, is there not me too? 112.1. *tsil gaiyɐn na?* shall we take water or not? 124.28. (But perhaps only: *gaiyɐna*). *bʌnda čʌpe mʌʒa eʻstse omaimi na* there will not be the *taste of human flesh on it, will* there? i.e. it won't taste of human flesh, will it? 66.19. *jučʊma nʼa?* will you come or not? i.e. won't you come? 74.20. *jočʊma na?* will you give him to me or not? 106.3.

272 b

hoɣolo gərmamots nokun ɟuɣas gos mur ɮaladani moɮan they call a woman who puts *gərmamots* in cooked green vegetables and eats them "*ɮaldani*". QUB. 000

ɮə'lda pl. *ɮalde.iŋ* y order, command, injunction, instructions, — *inər ɮalda eti* give him orders, instructions. *ja ɮaldatəm tuman stiɣmi* he did a different thing from my orders, he acted contrary to my instructions. *uɣaʃi manens ɮalda ne n'i gowasan apai.i* there is no one over you giving orders to say to you "go", there is no one to order you to go. 94.5.

(Cp. Sh. *ɮalda*).

ɮalhərəɣ EOL *-ɪlo* pen for cattle.

(Cp, *hərəɣ* and Kho. *ɮal, ɮal*, cattle-hut, *-ɮal* also occurs as a suffix in place-names in Nagar and to a less extent in Hunza).

1. *ɮama -mots* x candle. Ar. Prs.
2. *ɮamia* y pl. tea leaves after tea has been made from them.

ɮamaɣ, ɮumaɣ -iɛiŋ y piece of net-work worn in front of eyes by veiled women. — *ɮamaɣ biɛaiyas* to put on ditto. 291

(Cp. Kho. *ɮamaɣ, ɮamaɣ*).

ɮamal north. — *ɮamal yakal(afe)* northwards. Ar. Prs. 000

ɮamɛɣ and *ɮamɛɣ, -ants, -ents* x four wooden pins fixed in yoke of plough, one on each side of the necks of the two oxen to keep them in position. 492

With the suffix *-an* the form used is *ɮamɛɣaran*, not *ɮamɛran*, one neck-pin.

ɮamɛɣents uɣalas hər (or, *tsinder*) "an ox that breaks the yoke-pins" (said of a headstrong, refractory person who does not conform to the

122 or cares in regard to Mr. Brunton's condition. The doc-
[758] tor will attend to his duties at Aliabad and look after the hospital there . . . but he only has one or two patients and he will be back and forth from the hospital to the palace. Therefore he will be in constant touch with your friend."

"No man could do more," I assured the Mir. "I don't know how we can ever thank you enough."

"Don't mention it," he said. "You have been very kind, too."

"Now is there anything that you would like me to get for you while you're here? I wish you would tell me because some things may take a few days to procure or prepare and I would like to have them ready for you."

[124] "I'll tell you what I would like and you tell me what you would like me to send you from Canada—and no holds barred." I said to him.

"Fair enough! We'll tell each other frankly what we want."

"Agreed," I joyfuly replied.

126 I always carry a notebook with me. It's a small folding affair made of leatherette or something, that has room for 3 or 4 ball point pens and a pad inside. I was making notes as well as marking down the things the Mir expressed interest in when I spoke of the conveniences available in America. I intended to send these to him anyway.

I had seen quite a few little items around Hunza that I would have liked to have . . . for instance, a Hunzan hat, a cane made in Hunza, a pair of Hunzan boots. The boots are most unusual, being something
●291 like the mukluks used in the north by the Eskimos, except that these are made in a simpler manner. They are
237 somewhat like riding boots in shape except they are

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

made entirely of soft pliable leather, the lower part, including the soles, from yak hide and the upper part from cow or ibex hide.

I wanted to learn as much as possible about the good people of Hunza. Therefore I was interested in their crafts and craftsmanship.

All of the cloth used in making the garments the people wear and the special Hunzan hats are woven on looms that have been in use for hundreds of years. They weave 3 distinct types of material. It takes about 3 days to weave a length of approximately 15 yards of the best cloth, which is hardly sufficient to make a man's and a woman's "choga." The woman's requires 7 yards and the man's takes 9 yards. They trade commodities in exchange for the weaving. Then, during the winter, the men of the households cut and stitch the garments into durable, warm clothing.

The village blacksmith is also the music maker. Somehow, to me, that seems most appropriate for the clang of the hammer on the anvil rings a true music. These blacksmiths and musicians live in a section entirely of their own and they seem to keep mostly to themselves. It seems that all of the blacksmith-musicians of Hunza belong to a tribe known as the Bericho.

These people were sent to Hunza long, long ago by the Prince of Baltistan who was repaying a favor rendered him by the Mir of Hunza. These people have retained their independence and identity and do not generally take part in Hunzan activities. They even speak a language of their own known as Dumaki. This is also referred to as the speech of the Doma, or Bericho, of Hunza.

These people dwell in a quaint village or a community entirely of their own located just below Baltit. The history, the behavior and the manners and occupa-

needed animals in the world.

It is clearly and distinctly established that Tibet, for example, could never exist and people could never live in that part of the world if it weren't for the yaks and yaks are native only to that part of the world —yes, wild ones, I mean. That's where they were originally found and tamed. They still roam wild on some of the higher inaccessible elevations and plateaus in that part of the globe.

No one will attempt to deny that our cow is a most useful and practically essential animal. It gives milk from which we make butter, cheese and cream. We use the carcass for meat and the hide for shoes, baseballs and many other articles but, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the cow as it is today actually couldn't look after herself in the northern latitudes and pasture food must be provided.

Well, the yak does everything a cow does. Besides that, it is one of the finest beasts of burden. Then, too, it is the surest-footed animal to be found anywhere. It can, and often does, forage for its own food. It can live off practically nothing. It is suspected that it can find sustenance in a bit of grass or roots or even a bit of coarse, uninviting (to any other animal) herbage.

Like our cow, it takes to domestication readily. Both the Tibetans and the Hunzans use them to work their fields and flail their wheat, barley and other grains. From the wool on its back, belly and head comes the toughest of woven fabrics, from which is made the sturdiest of clothes for the people and tents for their homes. Wherever you see rope in Hunza, you can be sure that it was made from braided or woven yak hair.

The hide is used for most everything . . . boots and shoes, of course, and water containers and skin boats, which are the means and mode of transportation across and up and down the dangerous rivers

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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Choosing sides for a polo match. Rakaposhi is in the background.

[Facing p. 327]

526 what dangerous game. But if you saw the selfsame
177 sport played without an umpire, and only a score keeper, in Hunza, you'd probably think it the most bloodthirsty game in creation. And who am I to say it is or isn't!

Of course, the British changed the rules and regulations somewhat along the line of the Marquis of Queensbury, and a good thing, too, for our men aren't quite as tough as the Hunzans.

526 Practically every village in Hunza has a polo team
628 and matches are being arranged continually . . . and the day of a match is really a red letter day for that village. The villagers may not have too much room for orchards and other farming, but they do have polo
[311] fields. Invariably the best and flattest piece of land in
[367] the area is used as a polo field. So you see, sport, for sport's sake, ranks high among the Hunzans and the Nagirwals as well.

526 The polo field at Baltit sits just below the old castle
367 on the precipice and rather close to the school and the mosque . . . a sort of towering civic square, if it might be called that. A well-maintained low stone wall
[417] surrounds the polo field.

While putting in my attendance at the polo field this day, I recalled that a few days previous I had followed a trail that led down from a cleft in this polo field to visit some of the Hunzan farms.

Above the raised wall, in places, are chairs and seating spaces for the spectators.

526 Everybody goes to the polo matches. And why not?
[562] To these affairs even the women go. And even though
[291] their clothes be drab their red, skillfully embroidered Hunzan hats make the spectacle glow with splendor and color.

[533] The Hunzan band is there to do the honors and

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

stay aloft. Heights offer no terror for any Hunzan—man, woman or child. I think if a Hunzan suffered injury because of a fall from a height, he would be ashamed and embarrassed, but let me admit that they do have falls and broken limbs, too. I found this out when I met Hunzans who were expert bone-setters.

I have to admit that generally speaking the Hunzans' clothes are nondescript. However, I was strongly attracted to the Hunza hat which is best described as a rolled, sausage brimmed, soft white woolen covering. But it is really and truly an ingenious contraption. It is made of native homespun wool, white or creamy in color and mighty good wool, it is, in my opinion.

These hats are worn summer and winter by the boys and men. I tried them and found that they did keep out the summer heat. Wherever I met the boys and men of Hunza they always wore these hats. In the winter they can be rolled down to cover not only their ears but their faces and necks as well. I attest that it is a valuable and completely satisfactory headpiece. I thought they were quite attractive and enhanced the handsomest of the Hunzan men.

They have the choga which is a long flowing cloak worn by both men and women during the winter. This cloak is made of the same grey homespun wool and is never dyed but its creamy color is attractive and pleasing to the eye. Evidently this choga is quite similar to the toga worn by the ancient Romans. Who knows? Maybe some of Alexander's men or Alexander himself brought a toga with him from his homeland when he came to the East.

Apart from the attractive, useful, comfortable, Hunzan sausage-brimmed hat and choga, the best I can say for the rest of the clothes worn by the people of Hunza is that they are utilitarian.

There 164
are, remember, no transportation facilities whatsoever, except the Mir's jeep which the citizens of Hunza don't [493] get a chance to use. There is no other wheeled vehicle in the entire country. Practically every step is a climb or a descent. So no one could really accuse me of exaggeration if I were bold enough to say that they're probably the most active and energetic people in creation. It could hardly be otherwise.

To illustrate another proof of their hardiness, all 147 along the trail we met people from Hunza walking barefoot—from young children to boys and young men and old men. While some wore shoes, most of them were [291] barefoot. They walked over sand, over gravel, over stones, over plain dirt roads without any misgivings.

I watched them with awe as they ran, walked and skipped over these exceedingly rough spots and I was convinced they must have exceptionally strong, sound, healthy feet and legs.

On a few occasions I watched the Hunzans digging [412] with a shovel. 'Tis done the ordinary natural way there —barefooted. That certainly proves, at least to me, that their feet are in wonderful condition. Most people in America can't dig worth a darn wearing heavy boots!

It is unqualifiedly a fact, in my humble opinion, that 164 the people of Hunza owe their splendid vital good health in part to these sound principles—their way of life, their food production and the way they prepare the fields for their crops—all accomplished in a natural normal way. Civilization may have many advantages—great discoveries have been made, machinery has been invented that does the work of many, many hands. In this modern machine age, a man need only work a couple of hours a day to supply himself with all the food, clothing and shelter that he can possibly use, but

who climbs the lofty crags around Hunza to bring down the Marco Polo sheep or ovis poli is entitled to his bag. But after all, who am I to deal so generously with the life of another animal?

Then the Mir had for me two Hunzan hats of the type that the men wear and also two women's hats, the latter brightly colored and very neatly embroidered. He also gave me a bolt of elegantly embroidered red silk, displaying a young man and woman, a bird of paradise and what was more appropriate, a yak. Then last but not least, laying beside the other items was a white hairy mass, which for the moment I did not recognize. It was a yak's tail.

Then he said, "There is a pair of typical native Hunzan shoes being made especially for you and they will be sent to you as soon as available. I'd like to send the shoes to you later, because I am waiting for some new hides which some of my men will bring down from high up in the mountains when they've had a chance to bring down some of the ovis poli. I want you to have the best."

"I guess I can wait for the shoes," I jested. "The ones I am wearing, plus another pair that I have in my knapsack, will carry me back along the Hunza trail, I think, but I certainly will be happy to have a pair of Hunzan shoes as another momento of my visit to your most enchanting country."

Then suddenly a thought occurred to me and I said to the Mir, "I notice all of your men are clean-shaven . . . that is, except for the occasional one now and then who has a little beard around his chin. Therefore I know for certain that you must practice shaving in Hunza. Yet I have seen nowhere a sign of a razor. Further, I'm reasonably sure that this is one part of the world that King Gillette has not invaded with his

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

123 and generously of their services.

Then, with sincere good-byes, good wishes and promise of the Mir to come and visit us in America, where I promised him the use of my home for the duration of his stay, the jeep was off!

We were following the same trail that we had come up on, only this time Cec and I were in much better shape than when we arrived.

492 'Twas hardly more than 15 minutes before we pulled up at the end of the jeep road. The horses were waiting. Mine was a big black heavy fat pony and, I quickly observed, a stallion, to boot! He looked a little bit too bold for me but the Mir had assured me that he was as gentle as a kitten, strong as a bull, fast, sure-footed and intelligent. The horse Cec was to take looked very much like mine except he was brown. They were two mighty splendid pieces of horse or pony flesh. There was another horse in the group which we presumed was to be used as a pack animal.

291 I noticed when Jahangir got out of the jeep and was walking towards the horses and bearers that he limped somewhat. He was still wearing the pair of heavy, thick-soled and metal heeled army boots with which he had set out from Gilgit. Somehow this reminded me of the folly of trying to beat a man at his own game. The people of Hunza have been living with and under these conditions for 2,000 years or more and it is somewhat superfluous to say that they would have gathered by now the right kind of footwear to put on their feet. And here is what I found.

Practically all of the children wore no foot coverings. They went about barefoot. This I do not mean to infer as being the case only around their homes, but on the mountain crags and trails as well. Most of the boys and girls were barefoot, but there were some who wore

shoes and these were similar to the general type of shoes that are worn in the West, except they didn't lace up in the front, but folded over and your toes stuck out. This type of shoe could be purchased in any of the shops throughout Pakistan and India and even the small town bazaars offered these shoes for sale. It was a sort of heavy-soled sandal, although the tops did have a little more leather and it wasn't quite as open as an ordinary sandal. These shoes are called "chaplis" and are best described by saying they are heavy-soled, sandal-type shoes worn chiefly by the people who live in or near the rugged mountain areas. 291

Another type of shoe that was worn (or should I say, foot covering) was the actual native type. They were made of soft leather. To me it felt very much like chamois or suede, but I know from questioning that it was made from ibex, sheep, cow or yak hide. The skins of any of these animals were used for making these shoes as well as other commodities. The soles, too, were soft but of a little heavier consistency than the uppers. They usually reached to about the knee and they were tied with a piece of string, usually around the ankle. [237]

Occasionally I saw another type of foot covering and this was as old as time itself and consisted of rags wound around the soles of the feet and the ankles. I'm sure back before man learned to spin and weave, he used leaves and bark on the soles of his feet, as protection against the rough terrain and rain, snow and sleet.

I had already learned the reason for the open-toed affair. The fact that it allowed air to circulate around the foot is good enough reason in itself, but in the event of a pebble or a small stone becoming lodged in the boot, it could be shaken free without stopping and unlacing the boot and removing the stone. With the

291 open toes it could be just shaken out. These were the low or oxford-type footwear. Then the reason for the high tops on the other kind of shoes was clear. It meant that pebbles and stones and debris couldn't fall into them.

•291 122 I learned, too, that in walking over trails of this type one should always have on shoes that were sewn and in which no nails were used. On more occasions than I can attempt to recount, I stepped on a sharp rock and the nail in my soles or rubber heels went piercing through the soles of my feet. I had to stop on each occasion, unlace and remove my shoe, then get hold of a suitable rock and bang away until I bent the nail so it would no longer prick the sole or heel of my foot. So if you ever contemplate walking on roads or trails of this type, remember my warning, make sure that your shoes are sewn and have no nails in them.

122 The pack animal that was prepared for us was good enough to ride—much better than either of the animals that we had come up with. So Jahangir decided to use this mare as his mount and he sent his guide scurrying about to see if he could locate another pack animal.

At the P.A.'s in Gilgit, Jahangir had told me that he was taking off for Hunza alone. Now here as we were leaving Aliabad, I found that a guide turned up and it was apparent from the words that were spoken that this soldier had come up with him from Gilgit. The insignia on his shoulder clearly indicated that he was a soldier in the famed Gilgit Scouts.

I asked Jahangir how come he had a guide and he then informed me that the Scout Commander had flatly refused to allow him to set out alone for Baltit. Apart from anything else, in deference to Jahangir's parents with whom he was friendly, he would under no circumstances allow him to make the journey with-

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.39-A]

Hunza in the Himalayas

Storied Shangri-La undergoes scrutiny

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TERRACED country, *left*, is ruled by the Mir, shown with village chiefs, *above*, at his palace at 8,000 foot altitude. Background peaks exceed 20,000 feet.

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P. 40-A]

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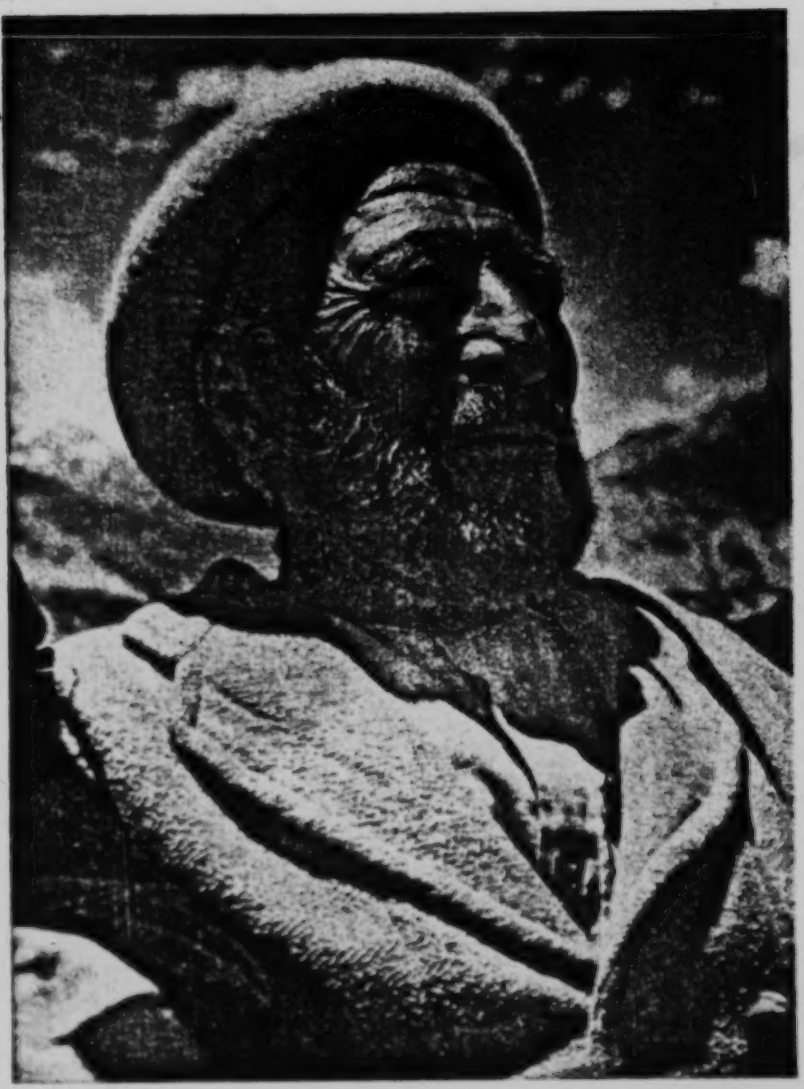

FABLED ELDERS of Hunza are products of rugged mountain life, scarcity, Moslem faith, and an autocratic tradition. If they exaggerate age, it is done to claim society's veneration.

8: Clark N-5 (1948-1951)1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.40-E]
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SEGREGATION of the sexes is rigid from early youth. Hunza's Moslem girls, right, are destined to live almost totally divorced from the lives of men. Here two can chaperone.

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P. 41-D]
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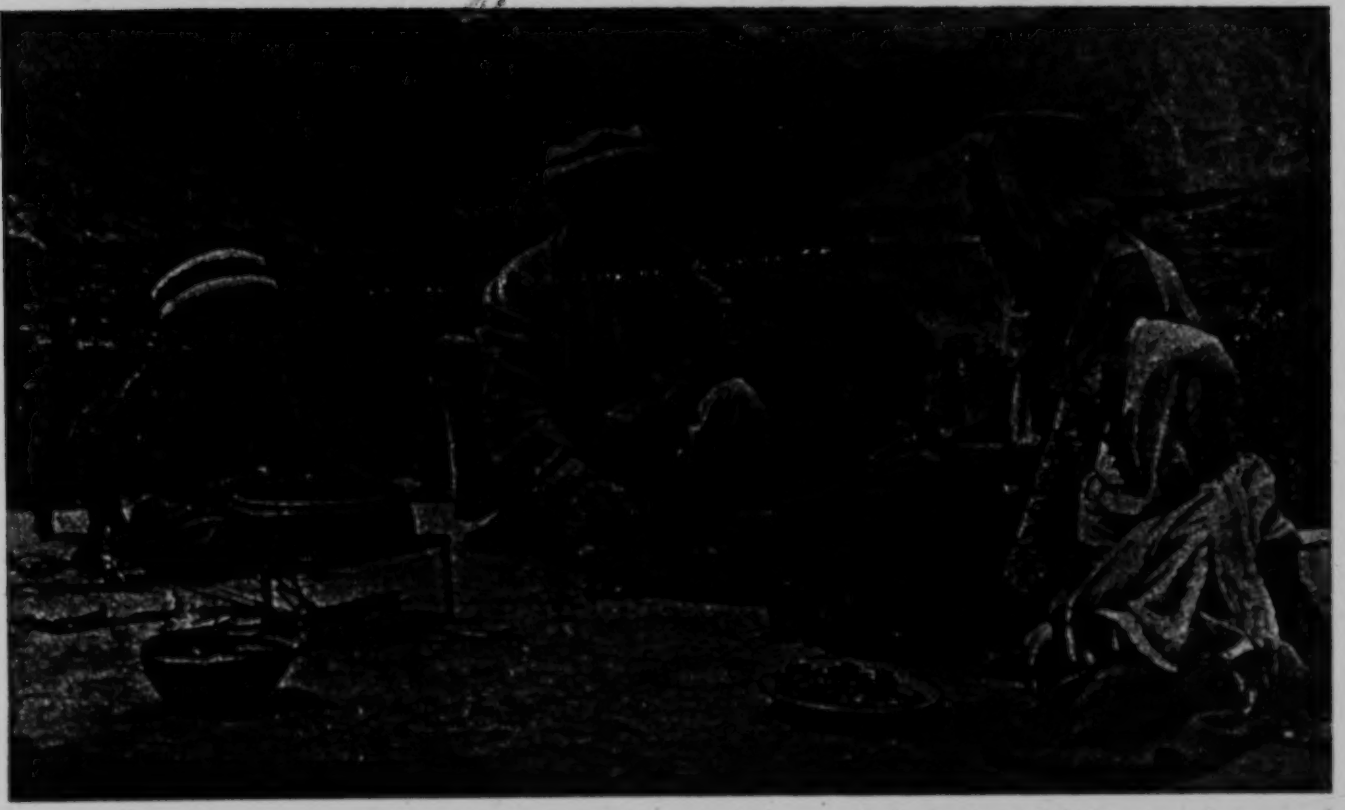
[562] [584] MIR'S DAUGHTER, the Princess Nilofar, is spokesman for Hunza's women, who, despite public segregation and their low status, never are forced to marry against their will.

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.42-A]



FAMILY LIFE on Hunza's flat roofs bespeaks the country's dry climate and the cramped quarters that prevail inside a typical stone abode, forcing inhabitants to seek increased living space in the open. A meal is being prepared, above.

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8: Clark N-5 (1948-1951)1963
[P.42-C]
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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CRAFTSMEN like this weaver are not numerous in Hunza; the demanding mountain economy requires the full-time effort of the society to raise food.

8: Clark N-5 (1948-1951)1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P43-A]

SCENE MORE TYPICAL of neighboring Gilgit than of Hunza is this one showing boys at a community fountain. Until a short time ago, little if any pipe had been available in Hunza. Water, called "glacial milk," comes from ice sheets.

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8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burunbo AV7
Hunza
[P 43-B]

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GRINDING of barley and wheat, above, is done by centuries-old technique.

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CHAPATTIES are the end product of the country's milling and baking.

B.Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963 AVT Barracks AVT House

[P.45]

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[612]

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

241 The cultivation in Hunza is very limited; the
311 finest stretch is just below the fort of the chief, and extends for some six and a half miles in length with a width of from a mile to a mile and a half, the whole
[361] of the land being irrigated. This main stretch of arable land, which is studded with villages, lies at an altitude of eight thousand feet, and faces south, and the climate here is delightful. Further up the valley lie scattered patches of cultivation, getting poorer and poorer as the altitude increases. The mountains enclosing the valley are very precipitous even for the Hindu-Kush; wood and grazing for cattle are therefore unusually scarce, and the people suffer in conse-
291 quence. The clothing of the people is practically the same both in Hunza and Nagar as it is in Chitral, and has been described before, the only difference being that the men's stockings are not knitted in such elaborate patterns, and that, as a general rule, the woollen outer robe is, in Hunza especially, more often white than brown. All, except on State occasions when the higher ranks don the turban, wear the Dard head-dress. This is a long bag of brown woollen cloth rolled back on itself till it forms a cap, which is one fold thick on the top, with a border an inch or so thick round the head. It makes a light, warm, and delightfully comfortable head-dress, but is a very poor protection against severe sun.

101 Nagar, as most of the surrounding people and the inhabitants themselves generally call it, though they also pronounce the word Nagér, and the scientific, for some cause best known to themselves, insist on spell-
[161] ing it *Nagyr*, is a smaller State than Hunza. The
795 population is about the same, and is composed of Yeshkuns, professing themselves Shiahs, but very

4a Durand G-9 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7
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RAJA UER KHAN OF NAGAR.

[facing p. 142]

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A HUNZA MAN.

[facing p. 170]

4: Durand G-3 (1888-92) 1900 AV1 Kashmir

Burnsko AV 7

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RAJA GAURI THAM KHAN.
MURDERED BY HIS BROTHER RAJA UZR KHAN.

[facing p. 236]

Barnacle A47

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[facing p. 113]

ETHNOLOGICAL.

(See also Drawing 1 of Appendix IV.)

A Gandhâri Student and Two Messengers (a Chitrâli and a Yasini), from a Brother of the late Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk, Ruler of Chitrâl.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL.

Ghilotti (Ghulâm Muhammad) | Nagyar (Kanoyâra) | Hunza Man (Mayaysilli)

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 Afgh. Afghanistan Alli
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

natives of other parts. Their constitutions also seem to want stamina, and they succumb easily to disease or change of climate. This want of physical energy and enterprise is most strongly marked in the Shin caste. They consider husbandry the only honourable employment for men, and so averse are they to labour, that the poorest of them employ Baltis in their agriculture, which is of a rude and slovenly kind. Numbers of Baltis come yearly into the Gilgit district to serve for hire; they receive 6 lbs. of grain for a day's labour.

In disposition they are tractable, good-tempered, fond of rejoicing and merry-making, neither cruel nor quarrelsome, and they submit readily to constituted authority. The worst cruelties perpetrated in the wars between Yassin and Cashmere are distinctly attributable to the Ashimadek class of Yassin and Chitral, who compare unfavourably with the older tribes in this respect. In all the accounts of the Kunjooti depredations on caravans, and of wars in which the people of Hunza and Nager were concerned, there are no records of wanton cruelty or of the exercise of torture. The women are pleasing-looking when young, but are not particularly handsome. Exception must be made in favour of the Khos of the "Fakir Mushkin" class in Chitral, who show certain physical peculiarities not shared by the other Dard tribes. In person they are Indo-Aryans of a high type, not unlike the Shins of the Indus Valley about Koli, but more handsome, with oval faces and finely-cut features, which would compare favourably with the highest types of beauty in Europe. The most striking feature about them, and one which distinguishes them from all other Dard tribes, is their large and beautiful eyes, which remind one of English gypsies, with whom they share the reputation of being expert thieves. They have also unusually fine hair, of which they are very proud. The women of Chitral were formerly sought out for their beauty in the slave markets of Cabul, Peshawur, and Badakhshan. The fairest complexions are to be seen among the Boorish of Hunza and Yassin, where individuals may be found who would pass for Europeans. Among them red hair is not uncommon.

In dress there is little variety. The loose woollen robe described by Mr. Drew is worn also in Sirikol, Wakhan, Zebak, Chitral, Yassin, Hunza, Nager, and the Yaghestan Valleys. Those who can afford it substitute in summer a cotton robe of the same cut, with quilted edges, worked round the neck

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Lt. Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 Afgh. Afg.
41 Afg Dard Afg
Burushi Afg

and front with silk embroidery. When first put on, the sleeves, which are very full, are crimped in minute folds right up to the neck, giving the wearer a clerical appearance. In the Indus Valley about Shinkari, the men wear turbans and tight-fitting clothes, and retain the curious leather leg wrappings called "*Tewti*," mentioned by Mr. Drew, which are peculiar to the Shina-speaking tribes, and the Torwal and Bushkar tribes of the Swat Kohistan. They are often called "towti-bads" or "towtching" in consequence, by their neighbours. In Chitral, boots of soft leather are worn. The women wear wide trowsers, over which is a loose chemise of coarse-coloured cotton stuff, fastening in the middle at the throat, and coming down to the knees. The opening is held together by a circular buckle, from which hangs a curious triangular silver ornament called "Peshawez," that varies in size according to the circumstances of the wearer. Round the neck are generally one or two necklaces of amber and coloured beads. The wealthier wear necklaces of silver beads with oval silver medallions, and a piece of cornelian or turquoise set in them. In Chitral, Wakhan, and Sirikol the men wear very small scanty turbans. In Gilgit, Astor, and the greater part of Yaghestan the rolled woollen cap mentioned by Mr. Drew is commonly worn. The women also wear a loose woollen cap, generally of dark colour. In the Shin caste unmarried women are distinguished by a white cap, which is never worn by married Shin women. Both men and women wear numbers of charms, sewn in bright-coloured silk, and suspended from the cap or dress by small circular brass buckles. Some of the buckles are very tastefully worked. A curious kind of cloth is sometimes woven out of bird's down. That of wild fowl and of the great vulture (*G. himalayensis*) is most generally used. The down is twisted into coarse thread, which is then woven like ordinary cloth. Robes made of it are very warm, but always have a fluffy uncomfortable look, suggestive of dirt. They are only made in the houses of those in good circumstances. The pushm of the Ibex is also in great demand for warm clothing, but it never seems to lose its strong goaty smell.

The men when young shave the whole top of the head from the forehead to the nape of the neck; the hair on both sides is allowed to grow long, and is gathered into a single large curl on each side of the neck, and the beard is kept shorn. This fashion has also been adopted by the Baltis from the Dards. Young men of the better class only shave